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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1348

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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Gaspar Surveys Future Ties With European Trade Unions (Sandor Gaspar; SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE, No 4, 1976)	1
BULGARIA	
GDR Minister of Culture Interviewed by Bulgarian Party Daily (Hans-Joachim Hoffmann Interview; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 16 Jan 77)	13
Briefs	
New Ship for USSR	15
Cement Department's Commissioning	15
Scientific Knowledge Conference	15
Bulgarian-Soviet Ferryboat Construction	15
New Magnetic Tape Equipment	16
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Condition of Catholic Church in CSSR Described (Angela Nacken; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 4 Dec 76)	17
EAST GERMANY	
Prerequisites for Transition to Communism Analyzed (Guenther Hoppe; DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, Nov 76)	24
Deputy Commander of Advanced Officer's School Interviewed on Training Process (Geisler Interview; MILITAERTECHNIK, Dec 76)	41

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

POLAND

- General Molczyk Sees Need To Increase Combat Readiness
(Eugeniusz Molczyk; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 15-16 Jan 77). 48

YUGOSLAVIA

- Jure Bilic Visits PTUJ Obcina in Slovenia
(VEČER, 21 Dec 76) 52

- Better Security for Communication Facilities Stressed
(Joze Jerman; DELO, 9 Dec 76) 54

- Sentences Given for Displaying Non-Socialist Flags in
Banja Luka
(OSLOBODJENJE, 23 Dec 76) 56

GASPAR SURVEYS FUTURE TIES WITH EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 4, 1976 pp 3-12

[Article by Sandor Gaspar: "Worker Solidarity, European Trade Union Unity Aspirations"]

[Text] A solution to the great questions of our age depends on the development of the international labor movement including the degree to which and how profoundly the international trade union movement succeeds in strengthening its unity and uniting its actions, the extent to which it can remove the obstacles from the path of unity so that the trade unions on a European scale, indeed on a world scale, can do more for peace, for progress and for a better life. These are the goals for which the labor movement, the trade unions, has struggled successfully for more than a century.

The struggle against exploitation long ago led the workers to the recognition that a fundamental condition for their action, for their successful struggle, is solidarity, union on both an international and national scale. Marx and Engels formulated this recognition more than a century ago in the great slogan of the worker class, "Proletarians of the world, unite!" In the time that has passed, this slogan has lost none of its significance, indeed, realizing it has become the crucial question for mankind in our day.

What does solidarity mean? It means the recognition that the situation, fate and struggle of the workers are one and indivisible, that the worker can realize his own interests only if he struggles together with his comrades for the realization of his goals, if he keeps in view not only his own interests but the interests of his worker comrades. It means mutual aid and support which are based on the identity of fundamental interests and on common goals. This recognition is the first step on the road on which the worker understands the significance of organization and assumes the struggle for himself and for the interests of his comrades, class and the international labor movement. In our day each international solidarity action mobilizes such great masses and achieves such successes that we can

justly say that it has become a history-forming force. Extinguishing the flames of war in Vietnam, European detente, the holding of the European security conferences and normalization of East-West contacts have been victories of the international solidarity which pervades and mobilizes many hundreds of millions of workers of the world together with the steadfast efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

So why, then, is there still division in the world trade union movement?

It is not only the self-aware workers who have understood the significance of worker solidarity, of the national and international union of the workers, the bourgeoisie have recognized it, too. And since the bourgeoisie understand that worker unity fundamentally endangers its interests it is doing everything to hinder unity and cooperation. The bourgeoisie is trying to turn the various strata of the workers against one another, to turn the skilled workers against the unskilled, the physical workers against the intellectual workers, the industrial workers against the agricultural workers, the unemployed against the employed, the organized workers against the unorganized and so forth. For a long time this effort by the bourgeoisie has made difficult and makes difficult today the realization of the unity of the worker class.

Since the development of the trade union movement the bourgeoisie has tried to bring entire trade unions or individual trade union leaders under its influence in order to decrease the social importance and effect of the trade union movement. This attempt has supplemented the use of open force when the capitalists use authoritative means against workers fighting for their rights and for better living conditions. This century-old bourgeois tactic, unfortunately, has frequently proven itself in practice and is not without effect today. Still it would be naive for us to complain about it or to expect something different from the bourgeoisie or for us to believe that this tactic was the only reason for the lack of international trade union unity.

Other factors, circumstances and causes also contribute to the lack of unity. The fact that the various unity-breaking attempts of the bourgeoisie have an effect on the trade union movement shows that there is a fault in the trade union movement itself, in those factors which permit this tactic to have an effect. We must overcome these weaknesses, the internal weaknesses of the movement. We cannot change the class nature and attempts of the bourgeoisie; its unity-breaking aspirations follow necessarily from its class nature.

But we can overcome those obstacles which in our day hinder the unity of the international trade union movement. The conditions for this are given or at least are developing favorably and it is our responsibility, it is the responsibility of every trade union official and especially of the class-struggle trade unions before the generation of today and the working man of the future to exploit the possibilities to the maximum to remove the obstacles hindering unity.

What are the weaknesses of the movement and the obstacles to unity in our day?

It is well known that there are now several ideologically, politically and organizationally different trends in the international trade union movement. In judging their opinions and activity we must always start from the class interests of the worker class.

The revolutionary trade union trend unites those trade unions in the service of social progress which consistently defend the interests of the workers. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution aided the development of this trend. With the development of the socialist world system the revolutionary trade union trend sharpened and strengthened. The revolutionary trade unions not only struggle against the effects of the capitalist system but, as Marx wrote, exploit their organized forces for the final liberation of the worker class. The leaders and leading organs of these trade unions well know that it is not enough to fight against symptoms and effects; a radical cure of the disease is most important.

Among the international trade union centers this trend is represented by the World Federation of Trade Unions. The World Federation of Trade Unions and the national trade union centers in its ranks always defend the interests of the worker class on a class foundation. Since the formation of the WFTU it has been faithful to the obligations it undertook. It has fought tirelessly for lasting peace, for the liquidation of the colonial system, for better living and working conditions for the workers, for democratic and trade union rights and for the unity of the international worker class and the international trade union movement.

The WFTU is the only international trade union federation which unites trade unions without regard to race or sex, without regard to political, ideological, religious or other allegiance, standing on class foundations and operating in various economic and social systems. The WFTU represents an unambiguously progressive trend in the international trade union movement and its influence extends to all five continents.

The trade union movements of the various countries are linked to various political parties of the labor movement. The member organizations of the WFTU, including the Hungarian trade union movement, openly and consciously link themselves to the revolutionary Marxist workers' parties.

Other trade union trends support the parties of other trends within the labor movement and are linked with other parties. In general these parties do not include in their programs the revolutionary liquidation of the existing capitalist order; they try to improve the situation of the worker class with reforms and hope to approach and realize the socialist society itself by means of reforms. The reformist wing of the trade union movement cannot be regarded as a homogeneous, united trend, partly because of its composition and partly because of differing opinions about individual questions.

We can find in it manifestations of social democratism, Christian socialist and the most varied bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideologies.

Special mention must be made of the autonomous trade unions which claim to be organizationally independent, which are not inclined to join either the WFTU or the ICFTU, but which in practice actively side with the progressive, class-struggle trade unions in the national and international class struggles and in the solution of individual questions of concrete, practical struggle.

So the picture is one of many colors. Various international trade union organs exist with various ideological and political ideas. But a trade union, although a class struggle organization, does not organize its members on ideological or world-view foundations. The Hungarian trade union movement now has more than 4 million members. People with allegiance to various world views and ideologies are brought together here in one organization; atheists and believers, Catholics and members of the Reformed Church, Jews and members of various religious sects. But this is no obstacle to our representing the interests of our members without regard to nationality, race, sex or world view; aiding, organizing and mobilizing their activity serving social progress and the building of socialism.

Not even on the international level need ideological and world-view differences raise insurmountable obstacles to trade union unity. It is a paradox that government leaders representing different social systems can find common ground for discussion and even agreement but that the representatives of such organizations of the worker class as the trade unions cannot understand and do this. An acceptable explanation for rigid isolation cannot be found. There are many more arguments for rapprochement, for creating action and organizational unity, for the development of international worker solidarity.

Always and under all circumstances the interest-defending organs of the workers must find a suitable voice among themselves. If peaceful coexistence is the governing principle for practical contracts in inter-state relations then it is even more necessary to develop contacts in the international labor movement.

A great number of common interests could bind together the workers of countries with different social systems. Differing social systems and concepts never ruled out the possibility of concrete, practical cooperation. We who work in the interest-defending organizations of the workers should not sit down at the conference table in order to wage ideological struggle but rather we should exchange opinions and come to agreement about what should be done to make more effective a better and more purposeful practical representation of worker interests and trade union rights, about possibilities for this and about everyday problems of trade union work.

We do not want to force our own ideology on anyone. But the urgency of realities should make us realize more and more in Europe and elsewhere that the communists and the social democrats are children of one class. The workers' organizations and their leaders cannot stay angry with one another because the harm done will reward those who divided us. We may have debates. This is natural. But in the event of opposing views and positions results can be achieved only by debate based on mutual tolerance, indispensable trust and objectivity. We have not begun our dialog with the representatives of our class brothers living in the capitalist countries of Europe in order to accuse one another as to who is responsible in what and to what degree for the deteriorated relations of past years and decades. The work and responsibility assumed for the common tasks of today and tomorrow provide a constructive view and active practice for our cooperation. We have no reservations. We have only one goal, to serve the cause of the workers and the working people ever more effectively.

There has never been and there is not today any other tool for the struggle of the international worker class against capitalism than organization and unity. We have gone beyond the bare fact of recognition. We must turn our attention to practical action.

International worker solidarity is one of the most beautiful traditions of the Hungarian trade unions. And now, too, together with the trade unions of the socialist countries, we will do everything in the interest of creating fraternal contacts corresponding to our historic calling with the organizations of the workers of other countries without regard to the social system in which they live. Our aspiration in this regard has always served and serves today worker solidarity and international worker unity.

Today conditions more favorable than ever before are developing for broadening common solidarity actions in the international trade union movement. The foundation for rapprochement and cooperation is being created primarily by the consistent internationalist efforts built on international worker solidarity of the trade unions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries but more and more of the trade union leaders of the capitalist countries also recognize the necessity of starting a dialog and developing their contacts with the trade union movements of the socialist countries.

The increase in the possibilities for rapprochement and cooperation and the realization of these possibilities does not mean that there are "victors" and "vanquished." In this process every trade union, whatever trend it represents, can only see a "victory" for itself because the only winner in rapprochement and joint actions can be the international worker class, the world trade union movement. We are guided by the sincere desire, and we are trying to realize this in practice, to build contacts with more and more organizations which do not belong to the WFTU, without regard to differences in world view or differing views in regard to social development. Our goal is to create direct contacts, the possibility for a mutual recognition of opinions and exchange of experiences so that we can disperse prejudices and strengthen an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect.

It is worthwhile to approach in a certain historical sense, if only sketchily, the entire issue of international worker solidarity and trade union unity aspirations. This casts light on the complexity and contradictory nature of the process and on the fact that the path leads from action unity through political unity to organizational unity. It is a well known and historical fact that there was a unified world trade union organization in 1945, in a world which was far from uniform! It was realized then because for a historical moment public opinion, especially worker public opinion, was clear about the fronts.

Later, however, especially during the cold-war period, reaction misled many, and not with just any means and method. The leaders of some West European trade unions evolved prejudices and political reservations against the trade unions of the socialist countries enunciating the view that the trade unions of the socialist countries were not "real" trade unions. They said that we did not represent the interests of the workers because we were not independent and had no independent sphere of authority but were some sort of servants of the government.

What is the situation in this question? Let us take our example. After 1945 the Hungarian trade unions won undying merit in the struggle for worker power and in rebuilding the country. In this period (between 1945 and 1948) our trade unions had healthily developing contacts with the trade unions of the capitalist countries. In the years following 1948-1949, in the period defined by the personality cult, the independence and sphere of authority of the Hungarian trade unions did decrease and thus sometimes one really could have a condemnatory opinion about their individual and group-interest defending activity.

But this period belongs to the past and if the trade union leaders in the capitalist countries nourish such opinions today and voice them about us we can only say that they are prisoners of ill-intended prejudices.

Of course, in the period described above, we did not lack one-sided prejudices either. For years we said about them, and not without any foundation, that their trade unions were reformist and did not represent the interests of the worker class, indeed, that they systematically, day by day, betrayed the cause of the workers. Today we no longer so summarily condemn their activity. Naturally, rapprochement was difficult from both sides with faulty prejudices. Since then, however, much water has flowed in the rivers of Europe. This does not mean that mutual criticism has become superfluous. Criticism is still possible within the trade union movement; indeed, it is necessary in the interest of rapprochement. But criticism is an opinion which discloses real problems and weaknesses, pervaded by service to the common cause, a responsibility felt for the interests and fate of working people. But repeating accusations only gives birth to distrust, causes breaks in our ranks and does not serve the interests of the worker class.

A few examples can well indicate that process which has placed trade union contacts in a new light. In 1955 the leadership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions forbade its member organizations from assuming or maintaining contacts with the trade unions of socialist countries. But after a while the member organizations did not follow this resolution and built ever broader contacts with the trade unions of socialist countries. And when it became obvious that life had gone beyond the decisions the resolution was withdrawn, despite all the protests of the AFL-CIO and despite the fact that they left the ICFTU for this reason.

The American trade union leadership led by George Meany continues to "play the old song" but it is our firm conviction that life and history will not tolerate forever this rigid isolation on any continent.

In the second half of the 1960's the relaxation of the cold war atmosphere and the realization of peaceful coexistence created a possibility for improvement in international trade union contacts and a rapprochement of workers and their trade unions. Bilateral and multilateral contacts came into being among trade unions of different trends on the basis of respect for each other's positions. In this positive process we mutually and ever more fundamentally recognize the activities, problems and efforts of each other and this necessarily results in the dispersal of prejudices and in further rapprochement.

Since we meet with one another more frequently and since trade union and worker delegations visit us more frequently more and more are understanding that our activity is real trade union activity which serves the interests of the worker class in every respect.

Our visitors can convince themselves that the trade unions of the socialist countries, in accordance with their by-laws, are independently and democratically functioning worker organizations which work in different, changed circumstances, in circumstances in which the state power itself expresses the interests of the workers. This changed circumstance gives our trade union activity a unique aspect. And like every trade union we also have developed relations with the state and with the party of the worker class as required by the interests of the workers and the trade union membership. These relations are not dominated by some trumped-up interests but rather by the real, fundamental interests of the workers. We are doing everything so that trade unions functioning in non-socialist countries should clearly see the independent, unique aspect, working methods, social significance and importance of our trade union movement.

Trade unions in socialist countries have rights which they could never have under capitalism. And yet, from the soil of bourgeois democracy, they often ask of us democratic trade union rights and freedoms. It is difficult for our Western partners, operating under the narrow rules of bourgeois democracy, to understand that here there is another dimension of democracy. For them, for example, a key struggle question is to actually win the right of a trade union to exist in a factory and have a say in

enterprise affairs. For us the task is the actual realization of already existing trade union and other democratic rights so as to actually bring the workers into the deciding and managing of affairs.

For us the rights of the trade unions are written into law, in the Labor Code and various decrees.

Trade union rights are extraordinarily multiplex. In a defined group of questions and affairs the trade unions have the right of decision. In another group there are those affairs in which the government organ or economic leadership can decide only with the agreement of the trade unions. There are questions in which the state organs or economic leaders can decide only if they ask the opinion of the trade unions. If the opinion is not realized in the decision then they must explain. In technical and technological questions expressly connected with production the economic leadership is not obliged to ask for an opinion but it must inform the trade union of the decision.

The principles for cooperation with state and economic organs have been developed on the basis of these rights and we are still developing them healthily and successfully.

In addition to the above, the rights of the trade unions have been expanded by the veto right. When the decision on this came out many asked whether it might not be better to declare in law the right of the trade unions to strike.

Since the organized strike movement is one of the most important weapons of West European workers it is natural that they should ask this question. But we can answer with a tranquil heart that under the conditions of worker power, even though the right to strike is not expressly forbidden, the responsible preparation and execution of decisions and the realization of the rights of workers in practice in essence removes the strike problem as a method in our every day activity. If we have trouble in defending the interests of the workers we can take care of it and get over it without a strike. What cannot be realistically carried out in our present circumstances could not be realized with a strike either.

If the manager, the party organization and the trade union committee are there in the place of work then every more serious conflict can be avoided.

Today it is understood, not only here but in the West, that the rights of the Hungarian trade unions are actually more and of a higher order than the right of strike. So the essence has been well understood. Bourgeois journals with good intentions, socialist and social democrat newspapers are writing about portraying this realistically, while the democratic rights are being expanded here with new rights, expanding the spheres of stewards, shop organs and workers delegations and the development of direct forms of factory democracy is on the agenda.

Rapprochement and regular contacts are having a similarly positive effect on our trade union officials and members. They are becoming convinced that our fraternal organizations, even if they do not have socialist revolution as their goal, are militant organizations, class organizations, winning real achievements in their struggle to improve the living and working conditions of the workers.

Thus the cooperation of trade unions with different trends is not only possible and necessary but is increasingly a reality, too. This is proven by all the activity of the WFTU, by the meeting of European trade union leaders, by the West European trade unions belonging to the ICFTU and the World Federation of Labor, by the existence of the European Trade Union Federation which includes the three Italian trade unions, by the extensive bilateral and multilateral contacts and by the ever more frequent common action. Our task, whatever trend we belong to, is to go further on the road which has begun.

The social system of capitalism is today in a profound and lasting crisis. This crisis comprehends every side of the life of the capitalist states. The bourgeoisie, as so many times in its history, is trying to shift the burden of the crisis onto the workers, especially onto the worker class. Unemployment is increasing in Europe, inflation is strengthening, the situation of various working strata (women, youth, guest workers, etc) is deteriorating.

The further deepening of the crisis of the capitalist world will increasingly demand the coordination of the struggle of organized workers, the action unity of the various trends. One can struggle effectively against the effects of the crisis if there is a common will and the necessary action capability. Historical experiences warn us that we must reckon with more than we have thus far experienced as a consequence of the capitalist world crisis. In addition to the deterioration of the situation of the worker class there are signs in some capitalist countries that capital is seeking a way out in fascist experiments and threats of war. These plans must be opposed with the strength of many millions of organized workers. It is important for this reason also that we have a dialog with other international trade union organs and with the trade unions belonging to them.

Today throughout the world but especially in Europe a great historical transformation is developing in the trade union movement. There are fundamentally two reasons for this. The trade unions of the socialist countries have become stronger, so a trade union movement corresponding to socialist relationships is developing. We are not yet at the peak but we are doing what must be done amidst socialist relationships. This is a great attractive force and an example. With the strengthening of the trade unions of the socialist countries there have gradually developed new aspects of international worker solidarity and trade union unity, most complete cooperation extending to trade union work as a whole and the exchange of experiences.

The foundation for cooperation is the identity of interests, the uniform nature of goals and aspirations, the strengthening of the worker power and the building of a socialist society.

By strengthening their cooperation and contacts the trade unions of the socialist countries have always served the uniting of the international trade union movement.

Another characteristic of the new situation is that the task of the trade unions has changed in West Europe also. Why? It should be known that today social democrat parties share positions of power in many West European capitalist countries. This has changed all the work of the trade unions under social democrat leadership because there is a very close link in most Western countries between the social democrat parties and the trade unions. Thus the trade unions, even if indirectly, can influence state policy, they have greater possibilities to exercise their mission and their responsibility has expanded. This provides a realistic foundation for our cooperation to be more concrete.

The Hungarian trade unions have regular contact with the trade unions of every West European capitalist country. These contacts were not developed for themselves; they have purpose and content.

In the course of building its international contacts the Hungarian trade union movement has supported itself on the already mentioned unity processes. We have been guided by a single goal, a consistent representation of the interests of the workers, and we will attribute honorable intentions to everyone who is ready to cooperate with us in a solution of the most important problems of the worker class.

The interest of the worker class is one and indivisible. Thus we are striving, representing the interests and opinions of the workers, to have a dialog with every trade union. It is on this basis that we build our bilateral contacts with the trade unions of other countries and participate in international actions.

At the Geneva conference of European trade union leaders we were able to discuss concrete themes. This proves that representation of worker interests can bring us together. It is true that there are differences in the possibilities regarding the activity of the trade unions of the socialist countries and the work of the trade unions functioning in the West European countries. The common denominator is what we expressed in the protocol of the above conference: The danger of an accident is the danger of an accident everywhere. This is why we must discuss this question and other themes involving the humanization of work to exchange experiences for the purpose of improving the situation of the workers. Fire is fire in both the West European and socialist countries; gas explodes here as there if we do not take precautions. The scale of such themes, where the identity of interest is obvious, is most broad and not at all exhausted. Going beyond identical

themes, such as the scientific-technical revolution, the retraining of workers, etc, it becomes ever clearer that a joint struggle against monopoly capitalist oppression is necessary also.

The development of systems of production, without which social progress is unimaginable, involves irreconcilable contradictions under monopoly capitalist conditions. In our day European integration no longer recognizes borders; ever more frequently we are witness to initiatives of West European enterprises in socialist countries and to cooperation between enterprises belonging to the two systems. Such development of economic cooperation is law-like and positive and must lead to the cooperation of workers of all countries.

Finally it is important to clear up or at least to describe what remains to be done. We cannot start here from mere wishes. We cannot mix our desires with real possibilities. The possibilities are broad and if we precisely clear up what we are capable of and, concentrating our forces on this, act and untiringly take the initiative, then the cause, the common cause of the workers, will progress.

Before all else we can start from what exists, and I am thinking here primarily of our bilateral contacts. In addition to strengthening our bilateral contacts we can strive to greatly expand them. We can start exchanges of delegations for concrete purposes with central, professional and factory functionaries. We should encourage official and tourist visits and increase the exchange of information. We should use our bilateral contacts and the expansion of them, more than heretofore, to popularize the ideal and reality of socialism, to increase the attraction of socialism. An open and frank clarification and exposition of the role and independent action of the trade unions will strengthen the solidarity and example of our just cause.

It is our intention to continue and strengthen the dialog of the WFTU and the ICFTU. In concrete questions affecting the workers we will appear at the declared forums accepted by the ICFTU also and in the specialized institutions of the UN such as the International Labor Organization, UNESCO, etc.

We must continue joint conferences with the trade union centers of the European countries. Our goal is to make these conferences more substantive and more effective with new initiatives. A common aspiration increasingly manifests itself in this question. The conferences to be held in the future must deal with questions more profoundly affecting the situation of the worker class. They must lead to mutually acceptable initiatives and agreements which the trade unions can represent before the governments. In our opinion the system of European trade union conferences can be a source and starting point for the creation of a uniform European regional organization.

In the future more attention must be given to and closer cooperation must be developed with democratic organizations representing different strata. Organizations representing such strata as youth, women, journalists, etc, can be important actors and helpers for the workers' cause and our institutional cooperation with such democratic organizations could strengthen the struggle being waged for the general and immediate interests of the workers.

It is our opinion that the European Trade Union Federation could have a great role in Europe's desire for greater unity, for it makes possible the participation of all European organizations in organized cooperation.

The broad international activity of the Hungarian trade unions is an organic part of their general, everyday work. Our history has taught the Hungarian trade unions and organized workers to respect international solidarity. The 23d Congress of Hungarian Trade Unions ratified the international activity of the National Council of Trade Unions and of the trade unions and gave them the task to carry on as before: "On the basis of the common interests of the international worker class the Hungarian trade unions are supporters of and active participants in that struggle which the workers wage throughout the world against imperialism and exploitation, for social progress, socialism, better living and working conditions, democratic and trade union freedoms, independence, security and peace."

8984

CSO: 2500

BULGARIA

GDR MINISTER OF CULTURE INTERVIEWED BY BULGARIAN PARTY DAILY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jan 77 pp 1, 4 AU

[Interview with Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, GDR minister of culture, by Petur Bochukov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in East Berlin--date of interview not given]

[Excerpt] Question: Internationalism is a characteristic trait of the essence of the socialist national culture in the GDR. How do you see the role of the writer, painter, and actor in the process of drawing closer together and mutual acquaintance among the peoples of the socialist countries, as well as in the struggle for peace and security?

Answer: The consolidation of the worldwide socialist system and of the universal revolutionary movement is the decisive point of departure and the goal of cultural policy in the GDR. The main goal in this connection is represented by the contribution to further strengthening of the socialist community, closely rallied around the Soviet Union. The "Days of Friendship and Culture" organized on a mutual basis by the fraternal countries in the GDR, as well as the "Days of the GDR" organized in other socialist countries have successfully asserted themselves. This also applies to the festivals of individual arts organized by fraternal countries in the GDR and vice-versa.

The responsibility for the writers and artists in our epoch is that, together with other people, they must contribute to the further development of their own socialist, national culture, and, on the other hand, to the permanent development of the process of a gradual intellectual and cultural drawing closer together, as well as to the mutual enrichment among the national cultures of the fraternal socialist countries.

The CSCE was an unprecedented historical meeting, a meeting of leading representatives of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada. This meeting marked the beginning of a new stage in detente and represented an important step forward in consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence and of cooperation based on equal rights among countries with different social systems.

The SED and the government of our republic are in favor of strict observance of the final document adopted in Helsinki as regards all its items. The writers and artists in our country decisively and uncompromisingly support this policy and confirm it by their new works. Thus, they are making an important contribution to the policy of peace, security, and to the policy of the people's freedom, to the unshakable principles of our party's and government's foreign policy. This was true, is true, and always will be true, regardless of all the attempts by the class enemy to introduce a split between the party and state leadership and the cultural figures in our country. [Passage omitted on the final question dealing with cultural relations between the GDR and Bulgaria and their successful development.]

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

NEW SHIP FOR USSR--The shipyard workers in Ruse have handed to the Soviet sailors another vessel--a ship in the series of 1,500-ton bunker ships. The Soviet flag was ceremoniously hoisted on the new ship. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Jan 77 AU]

CEMENT DEPARTMENT'S COMMISSIONING--The fifth blast furnace with an annual production capacity of 600,000 tons of cement attached to the Devnya cement-producing plant was commissioned in Devnya today. A celebration was held in this connection, and Grigor Stoichkov, minister of architecture and construction; Soviet consul to Varna, Aleksandur Daluda; and Ivan Ganichev, deputy chairman of Gosstroy, conveyed greetings. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 77 AU]

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE CONFERENCE--The second national conference of the "Georgi Kirkov" Association for Disseminating Scientific Knowledge began in Sofia today. Academician Kiril Bratanov opened the conference. Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Ognyan Doynov, secretary of the BCL Central Committee; Angel Balevski, member of the State Council; and others attended the conference. Representatives of scientific associations of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and the CSSR were also present. Prof Stoyan Mikhaylov, chief of the propaganda and agitation department at the BCP Central Committee, read a greetings message of the BCP. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0830 GMT 22 Dec 76 AU] The conference ended on 23 December. Prof Nikolay Todorov was elected as the organization's new chairman. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 76 AU]

BULGARIAN-SOVIET FERRYBOAT CONSTRUCTION--More than 70 percent of the Bulgarian-Soviet exchange of trade is being transported by sea. This percentage is expected to increase further after the Ilichov-Varna ferryboat will be built. In this connection, a conference of Soviet and Bulgarian specialists was held in Varna today which discussed possibilities for accelerating construction of this ferryboat and for its commissioning in 1978. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 77 AU]

NEW MAGNETIC TAPE EQUIPMENT--Bulgaria is the first of the socialist countries to introduce the production of equipment directly capable of recording information on magnetic tape. In addition to the CEMA member countries, Yugoslavia, India and others have already shown interest in this new production. Until not long ago all information was introduced on perforated cards, after which the recording was done on a magnetic tape. The recording is now being done with a keyboard which substantially increases the information processing rate. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 77 AU]

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONDITION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CSSR DESCRIBED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Dec 76 p 9

[Article by Angela Nacken: "The Church in the Land of the Heretics -- Catholic Priests in Czechoslovakia Between Servitude and Resistance"]

[Text] Saints and heretics of the Catholic Church still stand and wait on the monument pedestals in the capital of the country in which state atheism rules. The cupolas of the Prague baroque churches now only symbolize the past of an intellectual power whose external structure has crumbled under communist pressure. They tell us of a time when orders of monks and foreign nobility came to subjugate Bohemia as the representatives of the Counterreformation after the Battle on White Mountain in 1620 in order to re-Catholicize the people of the Hussite rebels by force and to demonstrate the triumph of the legitimate state and the Habsburgs in a manner plainly visible for all by means of a new culture. Czech Catholicism is weighed down heavily by its own history.

In this land, where the Western and Eastern churches meet, where the old Slavic people's church and the Latin empire church meet, religion was often a means toward a political end. In the struggle over the soul of the Czech people, Christianity in Bohemia has found no rest in half a millenium. National yearnings of the Czechs since the 15th century came into conflict with the official Church which in 1415 had Prague University Master Jan Hus -- who refused to recant his teachings at the Council of Constance -- burned alive wearing the heretic's cap on his head after which his ashes were scattered in the Rhine. The Czech people perceived the execution of the reformer as a profound humiliation inflicted upon the people itself.

The torch of the Hussite cause was lit on this pyre. In vain, crusading armies moved into the land in order, with fire and sword, to bring the Bohemian heretics back to the true faith. For more than 200 years, Prague remained a Utraquist city with Czech as the everyday language. The religious debates revolved around the dispute over the sacrament of the altar. The moderate Hussites celebrated the Last Supper "sub utraque specie," that is, in both forms. The Bohemian Utraquists would have been prepared to compromise with the Latin empire church if they had been recognized as the

national church of the land with the lay chalice as special symbol. But that ran counter to the structure of this Church in the spirit of Catholic universalism. The radical Hussites, who called themselves Taborites, after the Biblical name of a mountain in Southern Bohemia, which they had turned into their main meeting place, believed that Christ, in the form of bread and wine, was present only in the mind and rejected the Eucharistic cult of the Catholic Church. The Unity of the Bohemian Brothers sprang up after bloody fighting between the two camps. They condemned force of arms as un-Christian; they preached the simple life and they considered themselves the true representatives of the Apostolic Church after the Pope had, together with the Emperor, betrayed the Church of Christ. After the assault of Lutheranism, only less than 10 percent of the population in Bohemia professed Catholicism in the 16th century.

After the uprising of the Bohemian estates against the Habsburgs had been crushed on 8 November 1620 in the Battle of White Mountain near Prague, the victors knew no mercy in dealing with the apostates. The Emperor ordered 27 leaders of the uprising to be tortured and executed on Old Town Ring. The president of Prague University had his tongue cut out and nailed to the gallows before his head was chopped off. The Bohemian Brothers and the Utraquists were expelled and 36,000 families had to leave the land. There was to be no Protestant left residing in Bohemia. Baptisms and funerals without the assistance of a Catholic priest were outlawed and Protestant marriages were declared invalid. Three quarters of the land were confiscated, given away by the Habsburgs, or sold cheap to nobility of Austrian, Italian, or Spanish origin. In order not to be driven out, many against their convictions accepted the Catholic faith.

Somehow the seeds of faith never really sprouted on this blood-soaked soil. Down through the centuries, to this very day, the national sentiments of the Czechs were not free of anti-Church and anti-Catholic currents. The increasing religious indifference in the Bohemian dominions of the House of Habsburg was paralleled by the neglect of the theological education of the clergy. During the time of Austrian-Catholic enlightenment, priests were trained in the general seminaries under Emperor Joseph II, an eager reformer, but those priests were not so much the mediators between God and man but rather reliable school inspectors and they were called "black gendarmes." Josephinism educated priests who served the general welfare as people's instructors and who in their sermons enlightened the people about feeding grass to the animals and raising silkworms. Joseph II had closed down one third of the monasteries as being useless to mankind and, as a result of the elimination of entire generations of priests belonging to these orders, inflicted a loss upon them which they could never make up. When he ordered the proclamation of religious tolerance in 1782, about 80,000 people in Bohemia and Moravia registered under the Evangelical Faith. Many non-Catholics did not know what religion to report at the district office because they had for centuries not received any regular religious instruction. Religious indifference in Bohemia, a priest shortage since the Hussite troubles, radical currents in Catholic enlightenment among a clergy oriented along the lines of utility and usefulness were the heritage

of the Catholic church when the Czechoslovak state was established in 1918.

Thomas Masaryk, the father of his country who is revered by the Czechs, had left the Catholic church in 1880 and joined the Union of Bohemian Brothers. "We have settled accounts with the Habsburgs and we will now also settle accounts with Rome," he proclaimed after World War I. He considered national rebirth to be completed only when the Czechs abandon "the moldy forms of official and matriculated Christianity and push on toward true humanity and religion."

Total Government Control

During the First Republic it was almost considered good form to profess no religion. In 1919, the nationally oriented association of clergymen "Jednota" in a memorandum urged the Holy See to democratize the Church, to introduce the Czech liturgical language, and to allow priests to marry. When the Vatican refused, the National Czechoslovak Church was founded in 1920; during the population census nine years later, 800,000 Catholics registered with that church. After the great apostasy movement of the twenties, only 67.5 percent of the Czechs were Roman Catholic. Czech catholicism had to go on the defensive against the National Church, against modernism and secularization and church life lacked the impetus for renovation. In 1945, this Church, as a result of the expulsion of the Germans, 90 percent of whom were Catholics, lost a quarter of its faithful who until then had extensively determined religious life there. About 1,500 priests had to leave their home dioceses.

Neither the bishops, nor the clergy, nor the faithful were in 1948 ready for an open struggle which the communists, soon after they seized power, forced upon the Church with Hussite fanaticism and Stalinist terror methods. Their road to Calvary was thornier than anywhere else in eastern Europe. It led the higher-ranking clergy to prison, it misled vast segments of the simple clergy, it created fear of the party among the faithful which was greater than fear of the Lord and, in the end, it put the Church under total government control.

The new communist rulers persecuted the Church in eastern Europe according to a uniform tactic which encountered favorable prerequisites in Czechoslovakia. The Soviet liberators had been received with Pan-Slavic enthusiasm and national emotions sought a backing in Czech traditions. In Slovakia, where the peasant population had held on to its faith, Catholicism was more resistant but it was tainted politically and psychologically by the fact that the priest Josef Tiso -- who had acquired a bad reputation as a "clerical-fascist" priest -- had become president of the independent republic established by the grace of Hitler. Soon after the war, even before the communists took over, nationalistically-minded priests in Bohemia, following the traditions of the Church's popular teachers of the 19th century, had supported the new order in the hope of achieving a regulated system of cooperation. When communist party boss Klement Gottwald in 1948

was elected president, Archbishop Beran intoned the grand Te Deum in St. Vitus Cathedral in Hradcany.

In contrast to Poland, where the principle of separation of church and state is in effect, the old tradition was maintained in Czechoslovakia even under communist rule. The government, which in its schools and universities, on market squares and in factories, in newspapers, on radio and television proclaims the atheistic ideology, pays the salaries of the ideological opponent's clergymen and thus makes them financially dependent. The "material base" of the Church's struggle was thus secured even before it reached its high point. The goal was to isolate the local bishops as representatives of an international institution with its top organs abroad within the new socialist society, to win the leaderless clergy as an instrument for the creation of a national Catholicism -- either by splitting the Church or by separating the entire Church from the Papacy -- smash the "apparatus" of a single, organized ideological rival, and to remove the intimidated herd of the faithful from the influence of religion through a barrage of atheistic propaganda, reprisals, and threats.

The Curia recognized the danger of this tactic, suspended Catholic priests who were candidates on the unity slate for elections to the National Assembly or who, like the chairman of the Catholic People's Party, Josef Plojhar, entered the new government as Minister of Health. To the excommunication decrees issued by the Holy Office in Rome, the Prague government in the summer of 1949 reacted with church laws which, in a one-sided act, determined the relationships between the Church and the state in the land. These laws, from the darkest "time of struggle," are still in force today. Accordingly, clergymen can perform any kind of clerical activity only with government approval. Every appointment of a priest requires approval by the appropriate church secretaries. Clergymen, who do not have a professional license, cannot celebrate Mass even in private, without public participation, if they have not first obtained permission from the Church secretary. Since 1949 the Church has not been allowed to administer itself independently any more. The highest supervisory authority is a government church office which most recently was integrated into the Ministry of Culture as a separate secretariat. Even the bishop has no choice in the appointment of his staff.

To fill positions in the top-level clergy and in the communities with clergymen approved by and subservient to the state, the communist government had organized a "Catholic action" as "schismatic tools" under the leadership of Plojhar when the Church laws were promulgated in 1949 and from that sprang the movement of the "priests for peace." Over the years the association managed to occupy all of the episcopal curias and to get its members appointed to posts as vicars and deacons. The organization could not complain that it was not getting enough applicants. In 1967 it still claimed the right to participate in negotiations between the Church and the state and it demanded that the bishops, who were to be newly appointed, were to be selected from its ranks. In Poland, the bishops in 1963, after the internment of Cardinal Wyszynski had preserved the Church from being simply delivered up to priests subservient to the regime through tactical concessions,

such as the loyalty oath demanded by the government. In Czechoslovakia -- where the government pays the priests -- the communist leadership rejected an agreement with the bishops, sentenced bishops to 10-25 years in prison, pardoned them later but did not allow them to the office until almost all bishoprics were vacant. For 23 years no bishop has been elected in Czechoslovakia. When one could see the day coming when there would no longer be any bishop to ordain priests and to administer confirmation, the Vatican decided to go into a compromise and appointed two bishops and one apostolic administrator in Neutra, Banska Bystrica, and Tyrnau in Slovakia plus one apostolic administrator in Olomuc [Olmuetz] who were approved by the government. Following the death of the venerable staunch prince of the church, Cardinal Trochta, seven out of the 13 bishoprics are still vacant. Among the bishops who were secretly ordained underground during the fifties and all of whom are known to the authorities, only titular Bishop Tomasek is allowed to act as Apostolic administrator in Prague.

"Consolidation" under anti-clerical party boss Husak also led to the revival of the compromise movement of the "priests for peace" which had faded away rather ingloriously during the Prague Spring. The new men at the top of the association of priests, which, in keeping with the Council, calls itself "Pacem in Terris," cannot conceal the fact that this is a successor organization to the "Priests for Peace" which was so useful to the government. Gone were the words of the act of contrition for which priests, laymen, and bishops gathered in Prague in the spring 1968, confessing: "We failed out of weakness, confused by suffering and misled by fear." The reform movement had raised high hopes among Christians; the churches, suddenly crowded again, had brought many children back to religious instructions and had relaxed the pressure on the Church. But the time was too short and the two camps were too far apart for a new regulation of the relationship between the Church and state through negotiations. One year earlier, talks between Prague and the Vatican had begun on the reappointment of bishops until the Pope in 1973 gave in and allowed Josef Vrana, a leading member of "Pacem in Terris," to be consecrated as bishop in Olomuc. "The Vatican is now betraying something for which we sat in prisons for 10 years," said priests who until then had stayed away from the movement. "The offices are once again being manned by those who bowed to pressure while we remained loyal to Rome."

Against the Diplomacy of the Holy See

One of the embittered and disappointed priests, who no longer understand their church, one fine day got a call from the Consistory informing him that the National Committee of the Capital had, in writing, canceled the government permit which enabled him to exercise his clerical activities. When, on the following Saturday, he had not yet received a copy of the document and did not know whether he could still celebrate Mass on Epiphany, he phoned his bishop. The bishop did not know anything about this letter from the government agency. A short time later, the postman delivered to the priest the edict which had been dated almost four weeks earlier.

"I will probably never find out whether and how the appeal deadline was used," the priest thereupon wrote to his "Father Bishop." In the future he would join the estimated 500 priests who were "put on ice" after 1968.

Today, one out of every eight Catholic clergymen in Czechoslovakia share this fate with him. Out of the 580 parishes in the Archdiocese of Prague, 304 are vacant and in Leitmeritz diocese only 287 out of 433 are filled. The charge of having "exceeded" spiritual activities is enough to deprive the priest of his government license. Pastor Trstensky in the Slovak community of Stara Lubovna was deprived of his permit because, at Christmas, with the help of the school children, he distributed little packages with wine, oranges, and soap to a few families, because he had drilled the altarboys and the choir and because he had organized meetings of children in the parish house. A district court in Liptovsky Mikulas in Slovakia sentenced a discharged priest, who was employed as a warehouse worker, to three months in prison because he had given religious instruction to his brother's children and because he celebrated Mass in his brother's weekend home and in an old-age home (for the sisters).

The priest cannot defend himself. His bishop does not protect him. He is isolated and he is a marked man. He is alone with his conflict as to whether, by going along and expressing sympathy for the "Pacem in Terris" organization he could perhaps have prevented a "worse fate" for his community and perhaps "could have gotten more out of this situation" instead of being a loyal servant of the Roman Church and rejecting collaboration, losing his work permit, and having to leave the community. This mostly leads to resignation. The priest, who wrote to his bishop, is no longer interested in another appointment: "The Consistory is of the opinion that I am to blame for the loss of the government permit and this assertion is hardened by rumors which are inaccurate and which are extremely dangerous to me. Moreover, you, Father Bishop, during a time when honest clergymen were losing their government permit in Prague and when it was made impossible for them to serve the Church, solemnly installed Mr. Benes (former secretary general of the "Priests for Peace") and some other canons as dean of the Vysehrad Chapter. I simply cannot understand this sort of actions, no matter how much I might want to."

Discord, bickering, and alienation spread among the discharged priests in whose eyes concessions to the ruling atheists are unworthy of the Church and border on treason. The priest wrote to his bishop: "The Church, which prefers a temporary -- and in our case fictitious-- advantage over the Gospel and the feeling of human honor, which seeks to save itself and which does this at the price of betraying man and Christ, that church cannot exist. It may contain perhaps everything except one thing: that it bears credible testimony to Jesus Christ. Its testimony is only the horrible spectacle where Christians wind up when they cease to preach the Gospel among the poor and those who suffer from persecution, when it abandons the poor and only fights to preserve its privileges. This involves not only local events, it concerns the entire so-called policy and diplomacy

of the Holy See. Because I am not aware that Pope Paul VI wept bitterly over the fact that he denied Christ through his poor people and those suffering from adversity and because the basic dogma of the Papal Curia is represented by the sentence: 'Sancta sedes a nemine iudicatur' [the Holy See does not judge anyone], the poor and the suffering have no other choice but -- like the 'heretics' of the past -- to call upon the judgment of Christ."

Does this accusation, which comes from the land of heretics and sects, presage a new "break away from Rome" current in the Catholic clergy? Should a national "original church," appear to some people to be the only answer to official church policy, the Vatican's Eastern Policy has created new rebels for Holy Mother Church in the land of the "heretics."

5058

CS0: 2300

EAST GERMANY

PREREQUISITES FOR TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM ANALYZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 24 No 11,
Nov 76 signed to press 3 Sep 76 pp 1301-1315

[Article by Dr Guenther Hoppe, professor of Scientific Communism, SED
Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences: "Topical Problems in
the Dialectic of Socialism and Communism"]

[Text] The further shaping of the developed socialist society is inseparably connected with the emergence of those prerequisites which insure the gradual transition to communism. Communism can only be the result of profound changes -- of the productive forces, the production relations, the social relations, of the way of life and of consciousness. The further development of democratic centralism is a requirement that is placing growing demands on the level of management and planning as much as on the activity and initiative of the population.

In its basic documents the Ninth SED Congress issued a long-range strategic conception: "The SED aims at continuing the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, whereby to create the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism."¹ The party program underscores: (1) the dialectic character of the connection between socialism and communism as two phases of one form of economic society, (2) the nature and content of socialism as the first phase of this form and (3) the main direction and tasks in creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. The program thus turns out to be a first-rate document of Marxist-Leninist theory bestowing "upon the struggle of our party a clear orientation toward communism. It will be the guideline for our action for a period of several five-year plans."² It thereby also forms the decisive point of departure for scientific work in the field of theory of scientific communism.

I

In its policy and management activity, the SED lets itself strictly be "guided" by the universal historical inevitabilities of socialist revolution, as confirmed by the revolutionary world process, and of socialist construction, applying them creatively under the concrete historical conditions of the GDR."³ As power is the first and foremost question that is decisive to the socialist revolution and to socialist construction, the socialist workers and farmers' state was established in the GDR, based on the doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as well as on the experiences of the Soviet Union, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Furthermore, in order to enforce the universal historical inevitabilities, a stable socialist economy was created, based on the public ownership of the means of production, and exploitation was abolished. The working class developed into the leading force of society and is constantly reinforcing its alliance relations with the other working people. Marxism-Leninism, the world-outlook of the working class, has become the ruling ideology in society.

Only some of the inevitabilities in the socialist revolution have been stressed here. In the SED program, they are completely spelled out.⁴ Enforcing these universal historical inevitabilities under a country's concrete historic conditions is an irrevocable precept for the successful realization of the tasks and goals of the revolutionary labor movement. This historic truth also is confirmed by the development of the GDR. It includes the realization that the concrete historic conditions create particular aspects in every country, that is, specific forms, ways and means for enforcing the universal inevitabilities. Socialist and social democratic parties also proclaim socialism as their goal. Longtime experience has shown: Nowhere in the world has socialism been established, or could real progress be made toward establishing it, without the universal inevitabilities being enforced through revolutionary struggle. That also reflects the Marxist-Leninist realization that social development is based on objective inevitabilities the attention to which, under changing conditions, demands of every revolutionary party constant, creative, theoretical-scientific work.

The Ninth SED Congress has made far-reaching decisions on the further shaping of the developed socialist society and on the communist future. Of special importance is the fact that in the definition of the content of the next strategic phase, expression is given both to the tasks immediately before us and to how they relate to the higher phase of communist society. The further shaping of the developed socialist society is inseparably connected with the formation of those fundamental preconditions that insure the gradual transition to communism. Thus, "the creation of the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism is not a task to be solved only the day after tomorrow."⁵ With the concrete maturation process of socialism, theoretical and practical-political questions about the gradual transition to communism also acquire greater importance in the discussion. The basis for it is the fundamental realization that results from the strict application of the Marxist-Leninist evolutionary theory and the practical experiences of the Soviet Union

and the other socialist states: Socialism and communism are two necessary, that is, inevitable sequential phases of unified communist society. The dialectic relation between the two phases, different stages of maturity of communist society, is such that only through its own perfection, only through the full development of its inherent impulses and advantages, will socialism lead to communism. The shaping and perfecting of developed socialism will lead to the quantitative and qualitative changes in society which in their totality and through their internal reciprocity open up the transition to the higher phase. Any attempt at placing the construction of communism on the agenda directly together with the transition to socialism, or at arbitrarily shortening the maturation process of socialism, is bound to fail. Not only that it would contradict the basic position of Marxist-Leninist theory on the communist society. Proceeding that way would also ignore the experiences of the socialist states and can only bring about discredit among the working people for the great goal of the working class, for communism. The experiences of the socialist countries demonstrate: (1) Only via the first, socialist phase can the productive forces reach the level of development that is indispensable for overcoming the residues of the old division of labor, for the formation of new communist production relations, and for producing the kind of surplus that can satisfy the working people's growing material and spiritual needs; (2) the profound transformations of social relations, such as overcoming the differences between town and countryside, and between the workers' physical and mental work, are complicated long-term processes; and (3) new, communist modes of thinking and conduct, especially a communist attitude toward work as the principal vital need, develop only through one's own experience gained through the participation in creating socialist conditions and through the systematic indoctrination in Marxist-Leninist ideology disseminated by the party.

Communism thus can only be the outcome of profound social developmental processes and changes -- in the productive forces, the production relations, the social relations, the way of life and consciousness. "It is precisely these changes that are brought about by shaping and systematically perfecting the developed socialist society. Therein lies the dialectic between socialism and communism."⁶ The qualitative social changes in the transition from socialism to communism are incomparably different from those in the transition from capitalism to socialism. The social conditions for socialist society are ripening under capitalism, and through revolutionary means the working class accomplishes the overthrow of the exploiter system. If rightist reformist parties extol fundamental social values today, like freedom, democracy and solidarity, as an alternative for crisis-ridden capitalism, the existing power structures are by no means intended to be changed through revolution; they are meant to be maintained and reinforced. Consequently, those values remain determined by the imperialist supremacy and property relations, which is confirmed by many different manifestations of everyday life in capitalism. Communism originates on a socioeconomic foundation sui generis, for the transition to that phase takes place in the outcome of the full development of the advantages, impulses and foundations of socialism. That process is based on what both phases, socioeconomically, have in common. The transition to communism does not come through the struggle between antagonistic classes; it is brought

about by means of the cooperation among friendly allied classes and strata under the leadership of the working class. Our party program is based on Lenin's contention that "inevitably, socialism is gradually growing into communism."⁷ While this process through which socialism grows into communism does include quantitative and qualitative developments, it yet proceeds without a political revolution or social upsets. There are no class contradictions in socialist society. Which does not mean, of course, that the developed socialist society loses its dialectic-contradictory character. The solution of non-antagonistic contradictions in the objective process of development is the very source for advancing on the way toward communism.

Cooperation among the socialist countries is of increasing importance to the further shaping of the developed socialist society and to creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. The international development of the productive forces and production relations, in close connection with scientific-technical progress under socialist conditions, opens up new potentials for developing all public domains. The results reached thus far in socialist economic integration, the increasing rapprochement among the socialist nations, the joint defense policy of the Warsaw Pact states, and the coordinated approach to enforcing the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems provide the very experiences through which the trends in the future development of these processes can be defined more accurately. With the shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society possibilities expand; simultaneously the need is growing for coordinated cooperation among the socialist states in all fields. And thus each socialist country, in accordance with its own concrete historic conditions, in a specific way helps reinforce and fortify this alliance all round. At the same time it receives, on this basis, ever new material and spiritual-cultural inducements and support in carrying into effect what is the common concern, the policy aiming at the well-being of the people.

II

Decisive to the further development of the workers and farmers' power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the stability of the alliance of the friendly classes and strata, the more and more effective and comprehensive participation by the working people in the management, planning and control of social processes, and increasing the effectiveness of democratic codetermination is the all round strengthening and consolidation of the political power of the working class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. V. I. Lenin wrote in this context the following, today still highly pertinent, sentences: "The essence of proletarian dictatorship lies not in force alone, and not primarily in force. Its chief characteristic lies in the organization and discipline of the working people's most advanced departments, its vanguard, its only leader: the proletariat. Its aim is to establish socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, turn all members of society into working people, and cut the ground from under any kind of exploitation of man by man."⁸

The further development and shaping of democratic centralism, a fundamental principle in socialist management and planning, is an objective requirement which places increasing demands on the scientific level of management as much as on the democratic activities and initiatives of the whole population. Nor does this merely amount to ordinary everyday exigencies. They can be effectively coped with only if they are undertaken with an eye to the future, an eye to the continuing processes in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Both historical experiences with the role and function of the socialist state and the fundamental tasks that have to be solved in the new historical phase make clear to us that constantly new and higher demands are being placed on the functions of the socialist state. Reducing the role of the socialist state and of its all round influence on the realization of the historic mission of the working class is out of the question. The consciously organized management of society by the working class and its party is thus decisive to the substance, scope and speed of continued social development.

The Ninth Party Congress has directed attention to the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the main instrument the working class has for establishing and managing socialist society. "As in the past so also in the future there is every reason to devote the proper attention to strengthening state power. This battlefield of the working class and its allies by no means loses any importance with the further shaping of the developed socialist society. The great tasks of our socialist state continue, and new ones are added, in accordance with the 7 October 1974 constitution and its being carried into effect in the life of our people. In conformity with that it is important to develop the state further."⁹ Characteristic of the higher demands placed on the socialist state in the further shaping of the developed socialist society is the qualitative enrichment of its functions. It manages the systematic development of the productive forces and fosters scientific-technical progress and the steady growth in labor productivity. The socialist state improves the socialist production relations, the educational and cultural level and the working people's sense of responsibility. It organizes national defense and the reliable protection of socialism and its citizens. Increasingly greater importance attaches to the tasks of the state in bringing into effect the fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community of states, a condition for the shaping of the developed socialist society and for safe long-range planning. All experiences of the revolutionary working class come down to this: Nowhere in history up to now has a socialist society been established without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In perfecting socialist democracy lies the main direction for the further development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That produces new developmental possibilities for the proven practice of socialist participation in work, planning and government. But that also places new demands on the management activity of the working class and the inevitably growing role of its Marxist-Leninist party. An essential problem in the political management of society lies in scientifically and systematically organizing public life, under the conditions of the new historic stage, on a higher qualitative level.

In the center of management activity stands, more than ever, the task of translating the objective laws of social development, above all the economic ones, into the working people's conscious action. A further development of a systematic and organized activity of millions of people can, however, only be made effective to the extent that political management can bring men's fundamental and specific interests into conformity with the requirements of social progress in such a way that new initiatives and impulses arise from them.

In this process the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the supreme expression of socialist democracy, is being perfected. For through it alone can it be possible to control the objective inevitabilities of socialist society and to inform the actions of the masses with consciousness. That also materializes the identity of the dictatorship of the proletariat with socialist democracy on a higher qualitative level of social development. In terms of their class content, socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy are mutually exclusive. There can be no continuity between socialist and bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy is a qualitatively higher type of democracy than the bourgeois. That is demonstrated above all in its real substance and its historically new social function. As far as bourgeois democracy is concerned, its formal rights and freedoms can develop only under the conditions of capitalist production relations. Its margin is fixed by the exploitation of man by man. Therefore it only offers as many "rights" and "freedoms" as the prevailing economic and political power relations of imperialism permit. In contrast, any given historic developmental stage of socialist democracy, as the form of the political exercise of power by the working class, is gaged on the extent to which it contributes to bringing the people's creative forces fully into their own and to effectuating the objectively established interests of the working class and its allies, on how it helps in bringing the advantages of the socialist system to bear and in releasing its impulses.

"The various forms of the citizens' successful participation in the management of the state and of the economy is what becomes more and more characteristic of life in socialism."¹⁰ The extent to which socialist democracy, the responsible coshaper of the individual and of the collectives, becomes more and more, through the development of social relations and of its own life, a personal need, this significantly depends on the social efficacy of comanagement. Raising this efficacy through the means the socialist state employs therefore becomes, in the further development of socialist democracy, more and more a decisive political question and, at the same time, a personality-shaping factor. Especially those conditions have to be systematically developed which especially insure and promote that efficacy. That includes, for example, providing the working people with expert information, quickly picking up, and translating, their ideas and suggestions and so forth. Above all their active participation in the management and planning of the economy, and their competition initiatives, are opening up to the working people demanding and interesting fields of activity filled with problems. Through the experience they gain on their own of true and effective democracy, they develop an active relationship and identification with the workers and farmers' power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In close reciprocity with the development of substance, the forms of socialist democracy and its increased role in shaping socialist society are becoming more and more important questions in the effectiveness of political management. The importance of the people's representations, for instance, embodying the power of the working class and its alliance partners in the process of preparing and controlling the results in the implementation of state decisions, is growing. The social mass organizations also, particularly the trade unions, are extending their cooperation with the state in order to coordinate and make uniformly effective the working people's social activities. Included in this process is the special political function the work collectives have in shaping socialist working and living conditions on the job and in the residential areas. Through the constant expansion of the real premises and forms for the working people's responsible participation in the work of the people's representations, in management and production and in other domains of public life, there are simultaneously also being created the fundamental preconditions for the future, higher stages of maturity of socialist democracy.

It is an element of socialist democracy and an indispensable task of socialist state power to guarantee under all conditions the reliable political and military protection of the socialist order and of the peaceful work of the citizens. It is typical of the nature and rapacious character of imperialism that it will exploit any negligence and omission in the protection of the socialist state for provocations and adventures that imperil the peace all the way to military aggression. The fact that there is a real possibility, thanks to the strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, for banning war as a means for settling international issues, does not mean that the class character of imperialism has changed. One must indulge in no illusions here. The indispensable strengthening of the GDR within the framework of the Warsaw Pact is a significant contribution to further changes in the international power ratio in favor of socialism, to enforcing the policy of peaceful coexistence. This not only creates favorable external developmental conditions for shaping, or perfecting, the developed socialist society in the states of the socialist community. It also makes an effective contribution to the support of the revolutionary struggle by the working class and its allies in the capitalist countries and of the national and social liberation movements.

III

An essential theoretical achievement for the theory and practice of our party and its leadership activities in all domains of public life lies in the fact that the new party program has formulated in a comprehensive way the essential characteristics and criteria of the developed socialist society. Based on the statements by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, on the universally valid theoretical insights and practical experiences of the CPSU and of the other communist parties in socialist countries, and on the penetrating concrete-historical analysis of the experiences of the SED gathered in the shaping of the developed socialist society -- in particular since the Eighth Party Congress -- a scientifically sound conception on developed socialism has been worked out.

It is, for all intents and purposes, in its general features, identical with the corresponding fundamental statements of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the most recent party congresses of the communist parties in the other socialist countries and, at the same time, also takes account of what is specific in the concrete developmental conditions in the GDR. That meets the need of the dialectic between the general and the particular, and between the international and the national. The criteria of developed socialist society are being considered in this document in their complexity and their reciprocities. These criteria proceed from the main task in its unity of economic and social policy as the general line of the SED. It includes also these other criteria: The creation of an efficient material-technical base as the condition for stable economic growth, for high labor productivity and effectiveness in social labor; the strict implementation of the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his performance"; the perfecting of the socialist production relations; the greater role to be played by the working class and its party; the consolidation of the socialist state and legal order and the broad expansion of socialist democracy; expanding the socialist consciousness of the broad popular masses and the continuing development of their Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and of communist ethics; the safeguarding of the reliable protection of peace and of the socialist achievements; the steady deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of the socialist community and the further shaping of the socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries as the firm foundation for constantly perfecting the cooperation and systematic rapprochement among the socialist nations in all domains of public life and, finally, the creation of all conditions for the full development of public relations and of men's physical and intellectual capabilities.¹¹

These criteria in their totality thus constitute those processes and fundamental conditions through which the meaning of socialism, to do everything for the good of man, for the happiness of the people, is turned into reality through long-range, gradual steps and on an increasingly higher level. In the larger sense -- and therein only lies another expression of the dialectic between socialism and communism -- these are tasks that occupy the center in the further development of the developed socialist society and, essentially, are identical with the fundamental conditions that have to be laid for the gradual transition to communism. What is furthermore important in this system of criteria for the developed socialist society is the internal dialectic, the reciprocal relations among the criteria themselves. That includes the emphasis laid on the transcending characteristics. The program, for instance, says that one must create "all material, socioeconomic and political-ideological preconditions so that the meaning of socialism, of doing everything for the good of the people, for the interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, is turned into reality at an ever higher level. In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism the main task in the shaping of the developed socialist society lies in further raising the people's material and cultural standard of living based on a high speed of development in socialist production, of increased efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growth in labor productivity."¹² And so one finds expressed through the

system of criteria for the developed socialist society, in concrete historical terms, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dialectic between productive forces and production relations. The program leaves no doubt about it: The decisive material foundation for all social progress is, and will continue to be found in, the growth of the productive forces, with the socialist production relations being their forms of social development.' The productive forces, these most revolutionary elements of the mode of production, develop in inseparable unity and reciprocity with the socialist production relations.

In the process of the further development of the productive forces, the creation and elevation of the capability of the material-technical base of socialism occupies a central place.¹³ With the creation and elevation of the capability of the material-technical base all other questions of further social development are directly or indirectly connected. It is decisive to being able to focus the systematic proportional development of the main economic areas, and also that among the various industrial branches, more and more on the satisfaction of the population's growing material and cultural needs. On it depend the structure and quality of production, the improvement of which, in terms of the goals of socialist production, are indispensable to creating a unified, harmonious organism. And it is, finally, absolutely prerequisite to allocating the material means needed for the protection of peace and the defense of the socialist achievements. The further development of the material-technical base of socialism also affects processes that have an extensive influence on the improvements in working and living conditions. On socioeconomically perfecting the material-technical base and on elevating its capabilities causally depends the solution of such far-reaching social tasks as, for instance, the gradual elimination of the essential differences between mental and physical work, the realization, connected with that, of the socialist character of labor with the purpose of turning work into the most vital need, or the systematic reduction in the differences between town and countryside. It significantly affects the further rapprochement between the classes and strata. Given the estimates of today, that approximately M 220 billion in investments will be needed up to 1990 to solve the housing issue as a social problem, multiples of that will be needed for the solution of the above-mentioned tasks. Imperative for it is our further elevating the productivity of social labor. Through further perfecting the material-technical base alone can we provide the possibilities for the solution of all these problems and thus, for the material-technical base of communism. Only when "with the all round development of the individuals their productive forces also have grown and the cooperative sources are pouring out their wealth -- only then can society imprint on its banner: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!"¹⁴

Improving the labor productivity based on the perfecting of the material-technical base of socialism in order to raise the working people's material and cultural standard of living deeply conforms with the unity of economic and social policy. This unity is also demonstrated by our concentrating our efforts on the priority development of the material-technical base for the development of consumer commodity production. Only by means of elevating our national consumer commodity production as an overriding economic task will it be possible better

to provide the population with steadily increasing net revenue, proper as to need and assortment, and thereby better to conform with the socialist performance principle. Further perfecting the material-technical base thus by no means amounts to an end in itself, nor is it any "purely economic" task. Rather, it constitutes the foundation for fulfilling the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, a fundamental component of further social development in all domains of life.

The chief route for developing and strengthening the material-technical base is the way of socialist intensification. The level in the development of the material-technical base significantly depends on how the intensification requirements, summarized by E. Honecker in 10 points, are made effective. These qualitative factors of productive growth, starting from the acceleration of scientific-technical progress all the way to a more effective development of the working people's creative abilities, must move into the foreground of all our work, on a still broader basis and and far more thoroughly prepared and thought out than hitherto.¹⁵ The solution of this task is most intimately tied in with the international scientific-technical collaboration with the USSR and with the other CEMA member countries. The further deepening of socialist economic integration offers the possibility to develop the productive forces, based on common goals and for mutual advantage, to such an extent that thereby at the same time the next steps can be prepared for assimilating the differing levels of productivity within the socialist states of CEMA and the process of assimilation among the socialist states, pushed forward in all domains. The solution of these tasks opens up a wide field for the working people's creative activities. Here the abilities of the socialist personalities develop.

With it, the socialist production relations become more perfect. That includes the solution of many socioeconomic processes and tasks which must now and in the future be dealt with according to plan as, for example, the further development of production concentration, specialization, cooperation and combination, their most efficient ways and means, the formation of the agro-industrial complex, the proper connection between science, technology and production, the further transformation of the character of labor, the development of the various social relations within the work collectives and those between them and the all round promotion of competition, the further shaping and perfecting of management, planning and economic stimulation. In short: What this is all about is the full development of all the advantages inherent in the socialist production relations and, simultaneously, the creation of the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. To the extent that these processes are being better controlled, the socialist production relations, in their dialectic interchange with the productive forces, develop into higher quality. A seamless gradual transition to communist production relations and to the communist mode of production is thereby being prepared.

IV

In the process of the further shaping of the developed socialist society, greater importance attaches to the questions of the socialist way of life, in terms of the total process of social progress. On the theoretical and practical answers provided largely depends at which scope, speed and level more and more working people develop their abilities and talents and apply them in a socially useful manner. The further shaping of the socialist way of life thus is an objective requirement for shaping the developed socialist society. This is, at the same time, the concrete way through which socialist personalities, in and with society, can truly go through an all round development -- in conformity with the objective laws and their requirements. It is therefore objectively unavoidable that precisely in this field, which is so important and so pregnant with the future, a harsh class struggle is carried on. In this struggle, the practical results of socialism, the vivid and visible example of dignified human life for all, constitute an extraordinarily important argument against the various bourgeois social theories and concepts of life which are being deployed in the struggle against true-to-life socialism to cover up the general crisis of capitalism. Even today socialism demonstrates it can better satisfy than capitalism the people's fundamental vital needs for social security and safe prospects for all, for equality, for insuring the elemental right to work, and for the development of skills and gifts through education and culture. In the practical sphere of life of its citizens, socialism has long surmounted characteristics typical of the exploiter society such as unemployment and existential dread, the despair over purpose and roots, racial discrimination and the disfranchisement of whole population groups. What we are concerned with is the concrete solution of the task of systematically further shaping the already extant socialist way of life in the process of the shaping of the developed socialist society.

There are questions in the implementation of these program goals, especially under the aspect of the dialectic of the two phases of the one uniform communist society, which have to be theoretically elaborated further in the interest of a rapid and effective advance. For example, there exists an internal dialectic connection between the conscious and systematic shaping of all criteria for the developed socialist society and the further shaping of the socialist way of life. By means of the complex shaping of the developed socialist society, not only the objectively necessary conditions and prerequisites for the socialist way of life are being produced. It is the very process itself which is the decisive arena in which the ways and means of public life and individual conduct that are characteristic of the developed socialist society will develop further and must constantly be tested. That is true of the centerpiece of the socialist way of life, conscientious, honest and socially useful work, as much as of such other criteria for the way of life as the citizens' active participation in the management and solution of public affairs, the further development of socialist social relations among the people in all domains of life and so forth. In this sense, the further shaping of the socialist way of life is, as an expression of the historic superiority of socialism over capitalism, at the same time embedded in the dialectic of socialism and communism. The development of this is itself an indispensable fundamental precondition for the gradual transition to communism. It is, not last, this very aspect from which the necessity

arises to develop it as responsibly and purposefully in such a way that whatever this way of life holds in store for the developed socialist society, it be fully exploited and made effective on its behalf. That, without doubt, concerns the shaping of its criteria in their complexity, their reciprocal dependence and interpenetration. And that also connects with the question of how to control such social processes in practical terms, and of the social force that has the lead in this.

The party program clearly expresses the class nature of the socialist way of life. The meaning of that determination is not limited to the class-bound incompatibility it articulates between the socialist and the capitalist way of life. By emphasizing the fact that we are concerned here with the way of life of a socialist society together with friendly classes and strata, an essential distinction is made, but no abstract demarcation, from the communist way of life of a future classless society. From this it follows that it can and must be the socialist working class -- none other -- which, as the decisive social force, under SED leadership "determines, in accordance with its class interests, the social, political and ideological content of the socialist way of life and enforces and constantly deepens it at an overall social scale."¹⁶ That is an indispensable element of its historic mission implemented in the interest of all society. Combined with it is a whole complex of theoretical and practical demands made on its leadership activity. They extend all the way from increasing control over the complicated interrelations within and among the various social spheres of life, the systematic shaping of the process of the inevitable rapprochement of the classes and strata (through which, for example, the working class helps the cooperative farmers in developing the socialist way of life in the countryside), and the dialectic of the national and international in the further shaping of the way of life, all the way to the all round development of socialist personality. It takes long to master these novel demands, but it is a basic demand in order that, on a higher level of social maturity, "the development of communist social relations and the education of man of socialist society"¹⁷ can be carried into effect with the construction of communism.

The further shaping of the socialist way of life is not merely a matter of developing consciousness. It is inseparably connected with producing the material, economic prerequisites and conditions required for it, as characterized by the standards and criteria governing the developed socialist society. These measures have to be carried into effect in such a way that the socialist character of labor is reinforced with it more and more. This is indispensable to making effective all advantages and potentials of socialism in the interest of the socialist ways and means of life. It is seen, for example, by the consistent policy on implementing the main task. In opposition to Maoist fabrications, but also with equally resolute opposition to speculations about socialism along the lines of the convergency theory, seeing in socialism a "consumer society" of an imperialist type, it is our declared objective ever better to satisfy the material as well as the spiritual-cultural needs of the working people in their unity and reciprocity, based on a high degree of speed in the development of socialist production, increased efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growing labor productivity. That is a criterion of the

socialist way of life. But from that it also follows that its materialization can only through reciprocity with the socialist shaping of the other sides and spheres of vital human activity actually lead to those modes of thought and conduct that are typical, characteristic and exemplary in developing the prospects of the developed socialist society. That of course also includes taking issue with nonsocialist modes of conduct, the struggle against attempts at enriching oneself at the expense of society as much as against the wasting of manpower, materials and time. The full assumption of responsibility for the tasks assigned not only demands and fosters the development of personal abilities, with it, it also reinforces and develops the relations within the work collective and, moreover, permits the satisfaction of growing needs and stimulates the willingness to perform and the pleasure that comes from working. For these reasons, the socialist performance principle is no "birthmark of the old society" that ought to be overcome as quickly as possible, but it is a fundamental principle of socialist society. Its rigorous enforcement is necessary, not only because it stimulates in the socialist way the development of individual and social performance capabilities, but it also effectively fosters personality development. It reflects the dialectic of what the two phases of communist society have in common and what is different between them that the distribution according to quality and quantity of work performed in socialism as well as the distribution in accordance with needs on the higher level of development are both made dependent on a condition they have in common -- the work of each according to his abilities. This again puts the all round developed personality, in a concrete-historic fashion, in the center of management activity. A close connection, that can already be demonstrated in practice, exists between the further shaping of the socialist character of labor, the development and application of abilities, and the development of work into a genuine vital need. The socialist performance principle develops and uses that connection in the interest of the further shaping of the way of life. And every stage that is reached in this process becomes at once a new point of departure for creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

V

The development of the socialist consciousness of the working class and of all the working people has a great influence on deliberately forming the dialectic of socialism and communism. This has its deepest cause in what is historically unique in communist society, in that the construction of socialism and communism can only be the result of conscious activities by the broad popular masses, that is, activities led by scientific insight into the social processes. In this, the Marxist-Leninist party throughout all the phases that carry the historic mission of the working class into effect has the fundamental task of bringing Marxism-Leninism into the ranks of the working class and of all working people. Our party program puts it this way: "The basic concern of the SED's political-ideological activity is to equip the working class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to explain the party policy to them, to develop their socialist thinking, feeling and acting, to mobilize them for the solution of the tasks and to shield them from the influences of imperialist and bourgeois ideology."¹⁸

Socialism and communism share Marxism-Leninism as the ruling ideology in society. Though they do, there still are quantitative and qualitative differences, for instance, in the degree of appropriation and mastery of the scientific world-outlook among the working people, in the attitudes and modes of conduct molded by the degree of maturity of the objective social conditions and of the appropriation of Marxism-Leninism and in the comprehension and practical domination of the social relations brought under the control of men. The social causative factors set in motion by the people will, under communism, bring about the effects they had intended to a still higher degree than under socialism. Communist consciousness can grow out of socialist consciousness only. That can only take place over a long period of time and gradually, along with the further shaping of the developed socialist society and the creation, connected with it, of the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism as well as of the future stages in the development of communist society. In this process of communist education also "the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-modification" coincide, which "can be defined and rationally understood only as revolutionary practice."¹⁹

Led by the recognition of the active role, which modifies society, of the socialist consciousness of the working people, and of the inevitability in the emergence of communist consciousness out of socialist consciousness, the program enunciates: "Developed socialist society means further raising the socialist consciousness among the broad popular masses, actively molding their Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and communist ethics, and rigorously surmounting egoism, individualism and other manifestations of the bourgeois ideology."²⁰ In the complex orientation for political-ideological party work issued by the Ninth SED Congress, priorities are set down which suggest the dialectic of socialism and communism also in the area of consciousness development, the communist consciousness growing out of the socialist consciousness. The Party Congress charges all communists with the task of actively, and through their example, encouraging a fine attitude toward work and toward public property among all working people.²¹

Through socialist consciousness development a decisive impulse to economic and sociopolitical development is being propelled. That is a key problem for the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the solution of which serves the development of high work ethics, as a central problem of socialist collective and personality development, and the consolidation of the socialist way of life. Connected with the modifications and steady improvement of working conditions, with the increase of spiritual and creative elements in the labor process, it helps create the objective and subjective conditions for turning work more and more into a need felt by all working people. An essential prerequisite lies in this so that, in the outcome of the further shaping of the developed socialist society and, connected with it, the creation of the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism, work in the second phase of communist society can become the primary vital need.

In the process of socialist consciousness development, the further deepening of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism belongs among the

most important tasks of the SED.²² This unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism shows a common element that is inherent in all essential features of socialist consciousness: The responsibility for the whole, for realizing the historic working class mission in one's own country, within the framework of the countries of the socialist community, under the leadership by the Soviet Union and at a world scale. Essentially the same relationship is being expressed here as in Lenin's definition of the communist attitude toward work and toward communist property: Thinking and acting in one's own responsibility for all of society, for dozens and hundreds of millions of people.²³ When the working people's attention is being directed, by the socialist state, the party and the mass organizations, at their responsibility for the collective, the enterprise, society, the socialist community of states and the communist world movement, they learn to appreciate to an increasing extent the social importance of their own work and of their personal place within the total social entity. Therein a basic tendency manifests itself of the development of socialist, and the formation of communist, consciousness. On the basis and in reciprocity with the advances made in the struggle by the communist world movement, in the center of which stands the successful development and consolidation of the socialist countries, there also then comes the spiritual appropriation by the individual of the material and spiritual-cultural wealth of his own nation and of the treasures of world culture. And so, the realization of the chief criterion of proletarian internationalism, the attitude toward the CPSU and toward the Soviet Union, is interlinked, for example, in the thoughts and actions by the working people in the GDR with the million instances of appropriating the experiences of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union, with their increasing familiarity with the Soviet people, their country and their culture.

The working people's socialist consciousness always develops under concrete historic conditions, among which the class conflict between socialism and imperialism occupies an important place. The advances in enforcing the peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders are accompanied by an intensification of the ideological conflict between the two social systems. Skill in independent offensive confrontation with all forms of imperialist ideology and politics is therefore of extraordinary importance to elevating the active role of the subjective factor in socialism. Relying on a gigantic arsenal of means of information and communication and through the most diverse forms of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, imperialism seeks to carry insecurity and dysorientation into the socialist countries and the ranks of the working people in the capitalist countries as well as into the national and social liberation movements. Allegedly eternal values like freedom, democracy, human rights and so forth are being deprived of their class content, and even models of socialism are being developed and propagated in order to restrict the effectiveness of true-to-life socialism. The forms and methods of imperialist ideological diversion have become sophisticated and dangerous. For that reason, firmness in the class point of view, the realization of how antihuman imperialism is, and the defense of the socialist achievements against any attack are an indispensable aspect of the socialist consciousness development of the working people in the GDR, which has to be fostered by the party's

political-ideological work. It follows from the internal as well as external conditions for socialist and communist construction that a party-minded advocacy of the interests of the working class and of all working people, of the consistent and purposeful realization of the historic mission of the working class, in opposition to all enemies of socialism, continues to be an essential criterion for socialist consciousness development. The class character in the ideology and awareness of the working people in socialism loses none of its importance. Rather, it comes still more to the fore. Its being consciously molded is the prerequisite for education and self-education toward communist awareness.

Shaping the developed socialist society thus turns out to be a historic process, one that for its scope and quality calls for new dimensions, a process aiming at systematic and conscious control over the dialectic of socialism and communism. It leads to penetrating political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural transformations in all public domains of socialist society. Each step on this path and every consequence confirms anew the universality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on socialism and on the socialist revolution. At the same time it leads to new insights and experiences, and the general rules drawn from them confirm and enrich the scientific theory of the revolutionary workers movement, which includes the theory on the communist form of society.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 6.
2. Ibid.
3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 7.
4. Ibid., pp 7 f.
5. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 6.
6. O. Reinhold, "The Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society in the Light of the Draft Program," EINHEIT, No 3, 1976, p 291 (JPRS 67064, 31 Mar 76).
7. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 24, Berlin, 1959, p 70.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Welcome to the Hungarian Workers," "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, p 377.
9. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 110.
10. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," p 41.

11. Ibid., pp 19 f.
12. Ibid.
13. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 49.
14. K. Marx, "Marginalia on the Program of the German Workers Party," "Werke," Vol 19, Berlin, 1969, p 21.
15. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 71.
16. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," p 53.
17. Ibid., p 75.
18. Ibid., p 66.
19. K. Marx, "These on Feuerbach," "Werke," Vol 3, Berlin, 1962, p 6.
20. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," p 21.
21. Cf. ibid., p 67.
22. Cf. ibid., p 66.
23. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin , 1961, p 399, pp 417 f.

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EAST GERMANY

DEPUTY COMMANDER OF ADVANCED OFFICER'S SCHOOL INTERVIEWED ON TRAINING PROCESS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 12, Dec 76 pp 529-531

[Interview with Major General Geisler, deputy commander of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officers' School for Land Forces]

[Text] At the 10th Delegates Conference of the SED party organizations in the National People's Army [NVA] and in the GDR border guard new, responsible tasks were set for the training institutions of the NVA and the GDR border guard. It is of primary importance to prepare the young officer candidates even more effectively than to date for their future practical tasks in the military.

What that means for the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officer's School for Land Forces and what the results of it may be for training and education were the topic of a discussion between the editorial staff of MILITAERTECHNIK and Major General Geisler, deputy commander of this institution.

Major General Geisler: The new requirements for education and training are the result of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress, the 25th CPSU Congress and the 10th Delegates Conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border guard. Intensive and continuous study of these documents will enable the members of the advanced officer's school actively to implement party policy and to shape education and training more effectively in a way that is closer to actual practice.

Education and training must work towards the goal that military cadres correctly understand the military class mandate of the NVA and identify completely with it. Training is to be aimed at the union of communist philosophy and high-level military preparation, ideological creed and practical action in order to guarantee a high degree of combat strength and combat readiness.

The steadily growing demands for military knowledge and know-how, political-moral maturity and steadfastness in our graduates, on their qualities of character and will present us again and again with new, higher tasks in the class education and military training of the officer candidates.

These come as a result of the introduction of modern weapons systems with better tactical qualities, from the development of new forms and methods of armed combat and the psychological warfare of the enemy, but primarily from the extremely rapidly growing demands on the men, their fighting fitness and fighting moral.

The growing role of man in any possible war and the increasing collectiveness of action in view of modern technology allows the importance of genuine socialist relationships between them to stand out more and more clearly. Just masterly control of technology and arms by these collectives, their effective use with maximum utilization of the tactical qualities and combat possibilities, even under the most difficult conditions, as well as the political-ideological and military unity of the combat collectives result in better fighting power and combat readiness.

We therefore direct all measures in the education and training process at the political, military and military-technical requirements of troop service and a possible war. In this regard we are chiefly concerned with further intensifying the practical training of the officer candidates in all branches of training, with shaping them in a way that stresses experience more, that is more relevant to the troops, and doing it under combat-like conditions.

Increased importance is being attributed in military training to the organization of the steady cooperation of service branches, special troops and services. After all the complex tasks of modern military actions cannot be solved by only one service branch or partial force. A solid antitank defense, for example, today requires tank guns, recoilless guns, antitank guns, antitank guided rockets, tanks and artillery, combat helicopters and fighter bombers as well as the securing of all these kinds of fire power by air defense and motorized protection, the laying of mine barriers, among other things. As a result the combat tasks--and that is not only the case with antitank defense--must also be solved in close collaboration under the leadership of the commander and with perfect work by the staff.

Extensive demands on the education and continued training of our officers and noncommissioned officers arise even from the future development trends of the art of war and military technology. Higher-level combat effectiveness of our units and formations through progressive modernized arming and equipping--for us, too, that means to develop accordingly modernized training contents and methods. For this we need intensive, lasting and stable methods of utilization and taking over of Soviet findings and experiences. In spite of many good results we still have the greatest lags in this area. Making use of the experiences of the Soviet advanced officers' schools even more systematically is becoming more and more pressing with the establishment of graduate training at our advanced officers' schools.

At the same time we are anxious to make the comradeship-in-arms a possible experience for our officer candidates through common training measures, purposeful exchange of experiences and special competition with members of

the Soviet Army. In these competitions as well as in the entire process of education and training mastery of Soviet military technology is the focal point.

Without exaggerating I would like to establish the fact that thanks only to the brotherly help and support which our Soviet comrades offer and thanks to the systematic utilization of their scientific findings and rich experiences was it possible for us to reach the present level of training of officers in such a short time. On this basis the army is getting graduates from our advanced officers' school whose political, military and military-technical knowledge and know-how has acquired a new quality.

MILITAERTECHNIK: By what means now are even more effective and practice-related education and training to be achieved?

Major General Geisler: All our efforts in the training process are aimed at developing such officer candidate personalities who--firmly convinced of the meaning of their military class mandate--are prepared to sacrifice everything for the dependable military protection of socialism. In this connection we must succeed in awakening the creative initiatives of our officer candidates and utilize them for the most effective solution of the tasks before us.

The bases for even more effective and more practical education and training at the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officers' School are primarily:

- utilization of the wealth of experience of the army;

- creative readjustment of the superiors' task setting, and

- strengthened analytic activity concerning the education and training process at our advanced officers' school.

It is the task of all leading cadres and instructors at our advanced officers' school to draw from these the correct conclusions for improving the education and training process.

Shaping of the subject matter and further intensification of training are the key issues. The officer candidates must receive all knowledge and skills that qualify them as political and military leaders, teachers and trainers. And at the same time they are to be trained to firm military discipline and order as well as to a high level of organization for their entire period of service.

Thus, for example, we attach special value to combat-like and purposeful training for later application. In addition to systematic training officer candidates also receive extensive knowledge about the technology of their own service branch for the purpose of carrying through combat-like training. We strive to convince them of the fact that training must make a vivid impression and we want to put them into the position of later being able to function as trainers themselves.

In order to increase their knowledge and their imagination about the course of real actions of units methodological training demonstrations take place which involve the army.

Finally, we are working at imparting to our officer candidates the essential theoretical foundations of political-moral and psychological preparation for armed combat. At the same time they are to acquire the capability during their training of methodically integrating essential elements of psychological preparation into the training process and to realize them systematically.

In all our efforts we proceed on the following basis: victory or defeat, life or death on the battlefield are, among other things, directly influenced by the knowledge, abilities and skills of those in action. They depend on readiness for use, elasticity and transferability of knowledge and know-how.

MILITAERTECHNIK: The 10th Delegates Conference called for giving more attention to military-technical propaganda in the NVA. It pointed to the fact that the understanding and interest of all members of the army for military technology are to be further intensified and their technical training is to be perfected. How does the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officers' School for Land Forces allow for this task setting?

How does it prepare future officers to organize and direct military-technical propaganda later on in the army itself?

Major General Geisler: Our first military-technical conference which took place a few days ago has made a valuable contribution to the improvement of military-technical propaganda. It was concerned with:

- further increasing the leading role of the SED basic organizations in the process of mastering man-technology relationships in the training of young socialist officers,
- the tasks and the responsibility of the commanders and the members of the instructional staff in mastering scientific-technical progress in the military system,
- the development of man-technology relationships,
- the tasks of military-technical propaganda,
- the significance of general and mathematical training, training in the natural sciences and leadership-science training in fundamentals as a prerequisite to mastery of modern military technology,
- the demands for knowledge and know-how by the troop commanders to control combat technology and the conclusions for the military-technical training in commander personalities, and

--the tasks of the technical safeguarding of the training process in the next few years, the basic approaches to planning, use and maintenance as well as of observance of discipline in dealing with combat technology.

With these points the conference laid the cornerstones for further improvement in the education and training process at our advanced officers' school.

Our first military-scientific conference has clearly imparted theoretical findings and generalized practical experiences and thus enriched the education and training process.

Military-technical propaganda at the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officers' School for Land Forces is a component of political-ideological work. In the past training year it was possible to achieve progress in the area of training and military-technical propaganda. Special efforts were made to raise the level of the military-technical training of commander personalities. The ideological clarification process in regard to the man-technology-dialectic, introduced by the party organization and jointly carried out by the commanders, unleashed additional initiatives for better capability of the officer candidates for mastery of military technology.

Key points of subject matter for us in military-technical propaganda are:

--Man is and remains the decisive element in the dialectic interrelationships between man and technology, primarily under the conditions of the revolution in the military system.

--Soviet fighting technology is the most modern technology. To master it and to use it effectively are decisive prerequisites for victory on the battlefield.

--High sense of responsibility and concern in the care and maintenance of combat technology characterize the socialist soldier as a class-conscious man. At the same time this is a measurable expression and concrete avowal of our class brothers and comrades-in-arms, especially to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army.

--The study of experiences of the Soviet Army, especially in our partner units and their smooth use in our own military practice enrich our work.

We are of the opinion that the young officer can correctly guide military-technical propaganda in the army only when he has acquired a proper class outlook and party-like attitude to technology. That is an indispensable requirement. Furthermore, at the advanced officers' school he must have acquired solid military-technical knowledge that is ready for application and is transferable, knowledge relating to a definite specialty. The advanced officers' school must make him still better able correctly to organize and direct utilization and repair of technology, arms and other equipment as well as their complex use.

In the future we shall pay greater attention to improving the advanced officers' school for independent direction of military-technical propaganda. This presupposes that during their training they themselves have first experienced military-technical propaganda and secondly that they are accordingly put in a position to implement measures such as:

--Discussions with specialists during which soldiers and noncommissioned officers exchange their experiences on the use and upkeep of technology under different conditions and with observing security conditions,

--military-technical lectures at which the members of the army are acquainted with modern technology, development trends and problems in using and repairing combat technology as well as with newly introduced military technology of the imperialist armies,

--technical circles of the FDJ as a contribution to the improvement in all areas of military technology, as for example, technology of tanks, motor vehicles, radio and special areas.

In the third place we want to develop in the officer candidate the desire for independent further training, for which he uses the articles in MILITAERTECHNIK, VOLSKARMEE and ARMEERUNDSCHAU.

From all these tasks it becomes clear that we have a broad field of activity in order to fulfill creatively and actively the resolutions of the 10th Delegates Conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and in the GDR border guard at our advanced officers' school.

MILITAERTECHNIK: What possibilities do you see as to how the journal MILITAERTECHNIK can support even more effectively the process of education and training at the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officers' School for Land Forces? In what way would it be possible to arrive at the point that it becomes a genuine aid both for the educators and trainers as well as for the officer candidates of the Advanced Officer School for Land Forces?

Major General Geisler: I consider MILITAERTECHNIK to be a very valuable journal because it provides information about new technology and development trends, offers practical hints for the use and upkeep of technology and also transmits experiences from troop divisions and units. Thus, it is constantly a source of new information both for the instructors and trainers and for our officer candidates.

I value the contributions of MILITAERTECHNIK as a great help in shaping the subject matter of military-technical propaganda. But it would be advisable to write more often about how measures of military-technical propaganda can be prepared and implemented in order to convey even more purposefully the best experiences in this area.

By its informative contributions to the theory and practice of military technology and its attractive format the journal to an increasing extent will also awaken in our officer candidates the desire to become an active reader of MILITAERTECHNIK.

The appearance by the editors of MILITAERTECHNIK before officer candidates to deal with interesting military-technical problems has proven to be a genuine support in clarifying ideological requirements that result from having to deal with modern technology and arms. At the same time this makes it possible for the editorial staff to match the format of the journal even better to the needs of the readers. This close contact between readers and editors will surely increase further the already existing popularity of MILITAERTECHNIK.

In conclusion I would like to suggest to the editors that in their forthcoming issues they introduce the character-shaping sections of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Advanced Officers' School for Land Forces and their training basis and that they show with concrete examples how we are trying to comply with the charge of the 10th Delegates Conference to make available to the army class-conscious socialist military cadres that are thoroughly prepared for military practice.

12124

CSO: 2300

GENERAL MOLCZYK SEES NEED TO INCREASE COMBAT READINESS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15-16 Jan 77 p 3 AU

[Article by Lt Gen Eugeniusz Molczyk, chief inspector of training and vice minister of national defense: "For a Further Increase in the Armed Forces Combat Readiness"--article originally published by PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH-ground forces review issue 1/1977]

[Text] We have behind us another year of intensive training work, a year that has produced tangible benefits in the area of armed forces combat readiness. The Polish People's Armed Forces high combat virtues were demonstrated in particular during the Shield-76 interallied exercises. The tribute paid at that time to our efforts by Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and by the leaderships of the allied armies confirmed our satisfaction that we had fulfilled well our duties.

The unceasing efforts to raise the combat readiness of our armed forces are the most important patriotic and internationalist duty of every Polish soldier vis-a-vis his own motherland and vis-a-vis the entire socialist community. This is because the imperialist forces, which are replete with hostility for socialism, are still active and are trying to halt the detente processes in international relations and to restore the practices of the Cold War years. NATO invariably continues to be imperialism's main political-military tool in the struggle against socialism. The NATO strike forces in Europe are being unceasingly developed and perfected. The past year was full of Cold War actions by these forces as attested to, among other things, by a series of NATO armed exercises, which were the largest since World War II.

The proposal submitted by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee that all the signatories to the CSCE final act should pledge not to be first to use nuclear weapons against any other signatory has acquired an even more profound eloquence and significance in the light of these and many other NATO Cold War activities and intentions. The rejection of this extremely crucial proposal by the NATO leadership has induced European opinion to seriously consider the situation.

We must be fully aware of our potential adversaries' military measures and foresee the dangers threatening us, because this arms in advance every citizen and, in particular, every soldier with a strong intent to act in favor of enhancing the country's defense and, in our soldierly service, in favor of unceasingly raising the combat readiness of our armed forces.

In keeping with the national defense minister's directive on the activities of the Polish People's Armed Forces for 1976-80, we have directed our main effort to rapidly and fully implement the directive entitled "The Terms of Organizational-Training Responsibility." The guiding motive for this directive is to optimally streamline commander's functions, especially to clearly and unambiguously define their role and place in directing the efforts toward constantly raising the combat readiness of their troops.

The responsibility of commanders for training their subordinates is based on the regulations of the Polish People's Armed Forces, but the aforementioned directive details precisely the terms of this responsibility at every level and defines this role with reference to preparing the staff as a command body, to improving the skills of commanders, to forming an effective team of the troops directly under their command so as to efficiently coordinate the systems that safeguard combat actions at given levels, and to promoting instructional and training activities. Incorporating these areas into a mutual relationship is the function of the commanders' training activities. Deputy commanders and chiefs of staff have also precise duties to fulfill, and all of them should consistently observe their responsibilities and act within their limits. Commanders' activities in the process of training must never be delegated to someone else. Nor can they be regarded as secondary, superficial and declaratory, because in such a case they are useless.

We have to concede that not all commanders have as yet understood properly the terms and limits of their true responsibilities, and this is why the results of implementing the aforementioned directive are less than what has been generally expected.

Total priority for the issues of training and combat readiness is a most significant test of the ability of commanders to occupy their service posts.

We should assume that this year the aforementioned directive will be reliably implemented at all command levels.

Tactical training continues as ever to be the focus of all the commanders' attention and activities. Tactical training is the most important index of the combat readiness of every tactical formation, unit and subunit and is an element that is most effective in integrating the results achieved at all levels of training. Tactical training should be related even more closely to firing and special practices. We have many important achievements in the area of tactical training, but they are not fully consistent with the severe requirements of the modern battlefield. "We must view tactics," said Army

Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, minister of national defense, "as if it consisted of two interdependent levels: the one that is deeply rooted and strictly observes binding regulations and the other that allows for maximum boldness, inventiveness and initiative and uses them not against regulations but for their implementation in a creative and specific way...."

In tactical training we should continue to intensify and perfect the principles of overcoming strong and deep enemy defenses. We must devote more attention to actions at night and in built-up areas.

The instructions on the organization and execution of exercises is certainly of great help for commanders and staffs. These instructions should be most consistently implemented in training practice. The recently published training aids in the form of combat actions during the last war at the levels of squads, companies, battalions and regiments can also be used with effect to improve tactical training. If properly used, these aids can raise the value of training.

It is the duty of commanders to fully coordinate the efforts of all the services to strengthen, support, protect and safeguard the highly maneuverable operations of armored and mechanized units. This can be effected by the efficient and reliable synchronization of the firing system at every level and of the individual system of safeguarding combat operations. The point is that nonspecialized commanders should be increasingly effective in directing the system of firing in keeping with the requirements of a given combat and of the actual situation. The chiefs of the various armed services and auxiliary services have the duty to prepare all the necessary elements of a given system, and commanders have the duty to coordinate the complete functioning of a given system.

The directing of fire should be more closely linked to reconnaissance, and the troops in the exercise should be required to rationally use their combat hardware. It is also necessary to pay particular attention to the unit commanders' duty to coordinate the firing systems and to direct fire at the level of subunits.

The methods of realistically assessing the enemy's forces and potential call for further improvements. The lowest command levels must be more thorough in studying the enemy's technical combat hardware--its positive and negative features.

Extensively conceived and reliably implemented activities of instruction and training are the key to successfully solving every problem of training. We have noted clear progress in this regard, although there is still much to be done. Weakness in this field is the failure by some sections of our cadres to understand the need to raise one's own skills, which is a crucial factor in reducing the profundity of instruction and training. People indulge in the completely unjustified practice of training courses mainly by exhibition and information and by completely transferring certain methods, proper to

certain command levels, to lower command levels. This is contrary to a creative approach to the problems of training courses and fails to secure the optimum benefits for the participants. Consistent efforts to improve the quality of combat training call for a more dynamic development of instruction and training activities.

We must also continue to improve the instruction skills of especially talented officers and make them masters of instruction. We must utilize their skills and experience. We should pay more attention to the adjustment of graduates from higher officer schools who are posted for service in units.

Combat readiness is forged at the lowest levels of command--squads, companies, battalions and regiments. The higher the level of training of units and sub-units, the stronger is the entire army. This is precisely why the commanders and staffs at these levels play such an important role in all training activities. These commanders and staffs represent an enthusiastic cadre that possesses great knowledge, but not always a suitably great professional and practical experience. While consistently demanding from this cadre that it fulfills all its duties, we should insure for it the necessary conditions for implementing the appointed tasks and we should take good care of it.

The effective and complete implementation of the modified regulations will be an extremely crucial task for the immediate future. Conduct in keeping with the regulations will be a test of each soldier's maturity....

We have entered 1977 with rich experience. We must always see to it that priority tasks of combat training are not obscured by other issues and problems. We must skilfully direct every effort and eliminate the lack of resolution, haphazard activities, routine and unconsidered occasional efforts that can demolish every plan.

Harmonious training cooperation at every command level, reliability in execution and the entire cadre's commitment will produce dividends in the form of imposing results of the training and combat readiness of the troops.

CSO: 2600

YUGOSLAVIA

JURE BILIC VISITS PTUJ OBCINA IN SLOVENIA

Maribor VECER in Slovenian 21 Dec 76 p 6

[Text] On 20 December 1976, Jure Bilic, Secretary in the Executive Committee of the Presidency of the CC of the LCY made a working visit to Ptuj obcina. He was greeted by Vlado Janzic, Deputy Secretary in the Executive Committee of the Presidency of the CC of the LC of Slovenia, and Vlado Sorsak, Secretary of the Inter-obcina Council of the LC of Slovenia of Maribor. Members of the Ptuj Obcina political community first acquainted the guest with the political and economic situation of the obcina, with emphasis on the operations of the organization of the League of Communists. They estimated that ideological and organizational unity of the League of Communists in the obcina is present in all areas and that the number of new members is constantly increasing. Membership in the LC organization in recent years has nearly doubled and is approaching 2,000. The most encouraging thing about this is the estimation that young workers directly involved in production form the majority of the newly-initiated LC members, and that women account for 36 percent of the current membership. Farmers are most poorly represented numerically in the LC organization. In this regard, Jure Bilic emphasized that it is necessary, not only in Ptuj obcina, but in all other obcinas and republics as well, to take more decisive action in this sector. He emphasized that in the sector of political work, it is necessary to have more and more direct contacts and conversations with working people and citizens, which is one of the most successful ways to mobilize all action forces.

Subsequently, Jure Bilic and his hosts visited the 1,500-member work association of the Ptuj Agis, which came into being during the beginning of 1976 after the merger of the Automotive Accessories Plant and Sigma. The associated community, whose basic activity is directed in the production of automotive accessories, has thus far boldly planned a joint developmental road, which after initial difficulties is already showing encouraging successes. They noted that the cooperatively-linked automotive industry still continues to be in too much of a subordinate position and its income relationships with the larger producers are not totally in good order.

The guests continued the visit through a good part of Haloze. En route, they were met by representatives of the Ptuj farm combine and were acquainted with the achievements of this Ptuj and Drava area "green combine."

Jure Bilic in late afternoon, at the national club in Ptuj, lectured on ideological and political effectiveness and readiness for action of communists after the Tenth Congress of the LCY and during the preparations for the Eleventh Congress.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BETTER SECURITY FOR COMMUNICATION FACILITIES STRESSED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 9 Dec 76 p 12

[Article by Joze Jerman]

[Text] Maribor, 8 December 1976--"The internal security of the Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone must be in conformity with the general people's resistance system. This means, that security and self-protection in the postal working organizations must be familiar to the broadest possible circle of postal employees rather than being shrouded in some kind of secrecy," said Mirko Radakovic, director of the Yugoslav Post, Telegraph and Telephone community people's security.

The 3-day seminar of the internal security inspectors organized by the Community Assembly Committee of the Yugoslav postal services to deal with all questions of internal security and attended by over 100 inspectors at both the local and republic level presented already in its first day's session all the internal security problems to its participants.

The fact that communications installations of the PTT are of great interest to all who do not wish us well was emphasized. To a great extent the uninterrupted functioning of our economy depends on uninterrupted functioning of PTT facilities. Attempted destruction of PTT facilities by mailing of letter bombs are well known. In 1975 alone there were 116 instances of coaxial cable interruptions in Yugoslavia for which no cause could be discovered. This year two major instances of coaxial cable interruptions were reported, the first one in Slovenia and the second on the Beograd-Zagreb circuit. The number of fires and thefts at the post offices is increasing. For these very reasons internal security inspectors must exert stricter control and the PTT must establish already in peacetime a system of operation which will be capable if functioning even under the most difficult circumstances.

The inspectors also emphasized that protection of the working people's self-managing rights is a compelling reason for self-protection. The better self-management is developed, the more effective the protection will be.

Improved work discipline of postal employees, particularly those who come in direct contact with the citizens and their continual self-improvement is one of the primary duties of postal workers. A widespread preventive system, self-protection plans worked out in detail with which all workers are truly familiar, increased vigilance during the peak of the tourist season, these are only one part of the task which has as its objective protection of the PTT facilities. It was also felt that our PTT organizations should have a special security service which would provide professional guidance and act as a coordinator not only within the PTT but also between the PTT and the organizations that are closely working with it. Coaxial cable lines should be inspected daily in the same manner as are the railroad tracks, it was suggested. In the past when we had only a few communication lines we used to inspect them continuously, now when several thousand channels are provided by a single cable the inspection has been abandoned--which is not right.

It was stressed that all newly built facilities and facilities under construction should be protected. Construction of new facilities should not begin until all security requirements are met.

Close cooperation with the citizens, such as was the case in Varazdin, where the citizens drew attention to a bag containing explosives, thus preventing the worst, is another form of self-protection. A large improvement represents also the recently adopted self-managing agreement on parcel post.

In brief, the first day of the internal security inspectors' seminar again drew attention to certain dangers that have been almost forgotten in the daily routine. It drew attention to the need for every postal worker to familiarize himself with the self-protection system for it is only in this way that the workers will know how to act and what to do to ensure safe operation of the postal system and high quality of work.

12070
CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

SENTENCES GIVEN FOR DISPLAYING NON-SOCIALIST FLAGS IN BANJA LUKA

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 76 p 2

[Excerpts] Recently the magistrate in Banja Luka, Dragica Matijas, sentenced a 57-year-old farmer from Borkovici to 20 days in prison, because, on the occasion of roofing his home he prepared a small party and raised a flag without the socialist emblems. When the judge asked why he had done that, he explained that, allegedly, he was not informed [in this regard].

Also two young men, a 24-year-old farmer from Piskavica and a 32-year-old worker from the Banjaluka Kozara Construction and Industrial Combine were sentenced to 20 days each in prison by magistrate Dragica Matijas. They also had flags without the necessary emblems and symbols on their cars in which they were returning from a wedding. These three rare, but not isolated, cases before the Banja Luka magistrate, and recorded in the last few days, are occasion for reflection: is it a matter of ignorance of these people or is it a question of something else? The justification that this had been done out of ignorance or carelessness is not sufficiently believable.

CSO: 2800

END